

THE <sup>8122 f 2</sup>  
**Succession of Spain**  
DISCUSS'D.  
WITH A  
**PROJECT**  
Of RECONCILING all the Present  
**Pretensions to that CROWN,**  
FOR THE  
**Advantage of EUROPE,**  
AND  
**ENGLAND** in particular;  
AND THE  
**NECESSITY** of a WAR,  
In Case an  
**Accommodation be Rejected.**

L O N D O N :

Printed, and are to be Sold by *A. Baldwin*, at the *Oxford-Arms*,  
in *Warwick-Lane*. MDCCI.

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 in Westminster, MDCC.

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THE  
P R E F A C E.

I Am not insensible how many Tracts have been already written concerning the Spanish Succession, and the Dangers that are more especially like to arise from the Duke of Anjou's Accession to that Crown; and that most of them tend to our Engaging in a War against France and Spain both, with the Emperor and his Allies, to make good his Pretensions, and at the same time secure our own Religion, Liberties and Trade, as well as those of Europe: I do not doubt but there is a very good Meaning in it; tho', I confess, I must somewhat differ from them in the Manner of the Prosecution, my Method being chiefly thus: First, I have endeavour'd to shew the Dangers of the present Conjuncture, and stated the Claims of both Parties: Then considering that Peace in its own Nature is preferable to War, I have humbly offered a Project for accommodating all Differences, in an amicable Manner, without any War at all: Not that I would be so vain as to prescribe Rules to those of whom 'tis my Duty to receive them, which I shall ever be very ready to do accordingly; but as, I hope, if a Treaty were set on foot, it might not be altogether unuseful, so I'll leave it



## THE PREFACE.

*to the Judgment of all good Patriots, whether the Rejecting of just and reasonable Terms by the opposite Party, will not demonstrate the Necessity of a War with greater Clearness and Perspicuity, than can be expected any other Way, with which this Essay does conclude.*

THE



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# Succeſſion of Spain

DISCUSS'D, &amp;c.

**I**T was an excellent Saying of *Hannibal* to *Scipio*, at an Interview of thoſe renown'd Generals, about a Peace between the Two mighty Republicks of *Rome* and *Carthage*: That neither *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, nor *Spain*, nor even all thoſe Countries for which they had ſo long Contested, were worth ſo much Treafure that was ſpent, ſo much Blood that had been ſpilt, nor ſo many famous Captains Lives: This certainly muſt be allow'd to be true in reſpect to any other War whatever, proceeding from Ambition and Deſire of Rule; but in ſuch Caſes where Religion and Liberty, and the unſafe Transmitting of them to Poſterity lie at Stake, the Matter is otherwiſe to be thought of: I will not ſay 'tis ſo at this Day with *Europe*, by reaſon of the Duke of *Anjou's* Acceſſion to the Crown of *Spain*; however, it may not be amiſs to conſider it a little; and firſt I ſhall begin with a Historical Narration of that Succeſſion, ſo far as it may give any Light to the Deſign in hand.

*Spain* was formerly divided into many Kingdoms, which at length became all united (excepting *Portugal*) by a Marriage between *Ferdinand*, King of *Arragon*, and *Iſabel*, Queen of *Caſtile*, whoſe Daughter *Joan*, Heireſs to theſe Crowns, being married to *Phillip* of *Austria*, eldeſt Son to the Emperor

*Maximilian*, and Hereditary Prince of the Seventeen Provinces of the *Netherlands*, with the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, in Right of his Mother *Mary*, sole Daughter to *Charles* the Bold, Duke of *Burgundy*, all these Countries by this Match were united to *Spain*, in the Person of their Son *Charles*, who also upon the Death of his Grandfather *Maximilian* was elected Emperor of *Germany*, wherein, however he was not succeeded by his Son, but younger Brother *Ferdinand*; so that here began the Two Branches of the House of *Austria*, the Elder of which in *Spain* was continued by the Emperor *Charles*'s being succeeded in his Hereditary Dominions by his Son *Phillip* II. he by his Son *Phillip* III. after whom came *Phillip* IV. his Son and the Father not only of the late *Charles* II. King of *Spain*, by whose Death the Masculine Line of the elder Branch of the House of *Austria* is become extinct, but of Two Daughters likewise by a first Venter, the Eldest of which *Maria Theresa* was married to the present *French* King, and became the Mother of the *Dauphin*, and the Grandmother of the Duke of *Anjou*, his Second Son, lately declared Universal Heir to the *Spanish* Dominions, by the Will of the King of *Spain*, deceased, concerning which there is so much Stir at this time in our *European* World, and the same is become the Subject of our present Enquiry; before which, for a clearer View of the Pretensions of each Party, we'll first run thro' the Succession of the younger Branch of *Austria* also, from the Emperor *Ferdinand*, younger Brother to *Charles* V. aforementioned; who was succeeded in the Empire by his Son *Maximilian* II. and he by his Son *Rodolphus*, after whose decease his Brother *Matthias* obtain'd the Imperial Dignity, wherein he was succeeded by his Cousin German *Ferdinand* of *Gratz*, Grandson of *Ferdinand* I. and he by *Ferdinand* III. his Son, who was Father to the present Emperor *Leopold* I. the Chief of this Branch of the House of *Austria*, and whose first Wife was the Second Daughter of *Phillip* IV. of *Spain*, *Margaret Theresa*, Mother to the late Electress, and Grandmother to the late Electoral Prince of *Bavaria*, but these Three being gone into another World, the Imperial *Austrian* Family can have no Claim that way to any Part of the *Spanish* Dominions;

but



but must derive it from some other Cause, which we are just going to examine.

We have observ'd before, that the late Queen of *France*, the *Dauphin's* Mother, was the eldest Sister of *Charles*, King of *Spain*, now deceased, to whom the *Dauphin* and his Children must necessarily be next in Blood, and in that respect have the Preference by far before any Pretender of the House of *Austria*, nay, the *French* King himself is nigher than any of them, as being Grandson to *Phillip III.* of *Spain*, and Cousin German to *Phillip IV.* the Father of the late King. Neither does the *Salick* Law prevail in *Spain*, whereby the Females and their Descendants are excluded from inheriting the Crown. So that the *Dauphin* in his own Person, and not the Duke of *Anjou* his Second Son, seems to have all the just Pretensions in the World to the *Spanish* Succession: But 'tis objected against this; That the *Spanish* Crown cannot be alienated, nor fall under the Dominion of a Stranger; the Succession being settled by the Consent of the States of the Kingdom on the Houses of *Aragon* or *Austria*; that 'tis not only contrary to the Renunciation made by *Lewis XIII.* and the *Infanta Maria*, at their Marriage, but of the present *French* King and his Wife *Maria Theresa*, at theirs also, as well as the *Pyrenean* Treaty on which this last Renunciation was grounded, that any Issue or Descendants from that Match should inherit, and the same has been confirm'd by the Will of *Phillip* the IV; and in a great measure last Year by the Treaty of Partition between *England*, *France* and *Holland*; the Drift of all these Acts tending to the keeping of the Two Crowns of *France* and *Spain* separate, every Body seeing with half an Eye, that their Conjunction under one Head must inevitably endanger the Liberty of *Europe*: Now as to the first Objection, if it be really true in it self, its of the greatest Weight imaginable; there being no Human Act can have a greater Sanction, than that which proceeds from the Concurrence of the Representatives of a Country: Then for those several Acts of Renunciations, and the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, if there was nothing intended by them, what were they made for? Can any Body think Cardinal *Mazarine* and Don *Lewis*



*de Haro*, Two of the greatest Statesmen in the World, would have concern'd themselves about such Trifles, if they were really so; I am morally assured, if there had been no Renunciation, there had been no *Lewis XIV*, no *Dauphin*, nor Duke of *Anjou* in the World, and who then must have claim'd the *Spanish* Crown, but the younger Branch of *Austria*: In short, if such Solemn Treaties as these are of no Validity, we may break thro' all the Engagements of Human Society by the same Rule, and so introduce more Confusion amongst Men, the better Part of this lower World, than amongst any Brute Animals whatsoever: Besides, if the *Dauphin's* Mother's Renunciation was not valid, and that she did very ill to give her Consent to it, how comes the Son to have more Grace, and his Renunciation to be stanch in favour of the Duke of *Anjou*; when yet there was this substantial Difference between the one and the other Act; that the former was transacted in due Form, with all the Solemnities of Oaths, and otherwise that was necessary, by all Parties concern'd therein; whereas that of the *Dauphin* is only Verbal, and may as Opportunity serves, be either absolutely deny'd, or at least exploded as of no manner of effect in such arduous Affairs; while they tell us, that the Duke of *Anjou*, before he set out for *Spain*, enter'd his Protestation of Right to the Crown of *France*, in case it should by Inheritance descend unto him, which is not unlikely at all, since he has but one elder Brother, the Duke of *Burgundy*, of the Pregnancy of whose Princess we hear nothing, tho' they are now at sufficient Years for it, and have cohabited for a Year and an half together: Neither are we without a notable Example of this in *France* it self, in *Henry* the Second's Three Sons, I mean *Francis II.* *Charles IX.* and *Henry III.* who all of them died without inheritable Issue, whereby the Masculine Line of the House of *Valois* became extinct, and the Crown devolv'd upon that *Bourbon*, in which it now remains. Certainly in such a Case, it must look much odder to see the Duke of *Anjou* run away from all the Crowns and Dominions of *Spain*, to go take Possession of those of *France*, than it did in *Henry III.* to desert the Elective Crown of *Poland*, for the

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Hereditary one of his Native Country : But if such a Conjunction should once happen, there's nothing humanly speaking, can hinder him from enjoying both ; and then I'll leave the Event to the Consideration of all Wise Men, and the Danger of it.

As for the Treaty of Partition, as I am satisfied it was honestly meant by Two of the Parties concern'd, in which the *Dutch* seem'd to have the greatest Hand (as thinking thereby their Frontiers should be secured ;) so it plainly seems to me the Third Party had no other Intention therein, than to make use of it to induce the *Spaniards* (for fear of the Dismembring of their Monarchy) to exclude the House of *Austria*, and procure a Will of their King in Favour of a Prince of *France* : For to believe, as his Will seems to intimate, that it was a Spontaneous Act of the Catholick King, and the Effect of pure Inclination and Choice, and none of the Procurement of the *French* Emisaries and Pensioners in *Spain*, is more than I can possibly do, whatever others may think of it ; and if so, *England* and *Holland* have been finely prevaricated with ; and how to resent it, they themselves are best Judges, to whom I leave it. But *Facta est Alea*, the Partition is rejected by *France*, and the Duke of *Anjou* saluted King of *Spain*, without his most Christian Majesty's first consulting with his Allies, whether they would relinquish their Engagements, and acquiesce with it.

The Reason given by the *French* King for his Acceptance of the Will of his late Catholick Majesty, in favour of the Duke of *Anjou*, viz. That it was the only Means to preserve the Peace of *Europe*, is very remarkable. In ancient Days, indeed, King and Priest were frequently Offices vested in the same Person ; but I would fain know how long his most Christian Majesty has been a Prophet ; how he can be assured the Emperor, who thinks himself so much injured, to have so much Right to the *Spanish* Succession, and so great a Power to back his Claim, will silently look on and hang his Lips, as if he were no ways concern'd in it ; or that *England* and *Holland* will calmly put up the Breach of his Treaty with them  
upon.



upon this Occasion : Some People cry, Peace, Peace, when there is nothing but War and Destruction in their Hearts : Can any Man believe, that the *French* King would relinquish the great Advantages assign'd him in the Treaty of Partition, and sacrifice that which was so much for the Interest of his own Crown, to that of his Grandson ; especially since the Powers concern'd with him in the Treaty were able, and in all appearance without any War, to make it good against all Pretenders ; whereas he is not now sure but the Whole will be disputed ? — *Latet Anguis in Herba.* — There is surely more in the Bottom of this Procedure than Men are aware of. If we had been told that the great *Cham* of *Tartary*, *Prester John*, or some such Princes, who are wholly unknown to us, would have done such a generous Action, perhaps, we might have been inclined to believe it ; but 'tis pity that those who do so, in respect to the *French* King, should live a Minute without the Iron-Gates in *Moor-fields*, for fear of farther Mischief from them ; I say in respect to a Prince whose Interest has been always the *Polar-star*, by which he has regulated the whole Conduct of his Life and Actions.

It will be unnecessary to expatiate upon this Matter, it has been done very well already by other Hands, and, indeed, the Thing bespeaks it self : Suppose therefore, there should be an Agreement made by the House of *Bourbon* amongst themselves, that for the greater Conveniencies of both Crowns, *Spain* should entirely relinquish all her Pretensions in the *Netherlands* to *France*, and in Consideration of this, that the County of *Roussillon*, *Bearne*, and other Territories of *France*, towards the *Spanish* Frontiers, should be given as an Equivalent to that Crown ; and not only so, but that the *Spaniards* should also be very effectually assisted with *French* Troops for the Re-conquest of the Kingdom of *Portugal* ; and, perhaps, with a good Fleet suddenly to seize *Jamaica*, which is so much an Eye-sore to the *Spanish-West-Indies* : Now, I say, suppose such a Bargain, which is not at all improbable ; If the Neighbouring Nations sit still with folded Hands, what can hinder the Execution of it ? It will not be all a Summer's Work,



Work, and yet, it may be, can never be retriev'd: Would not *Europe* be then in a fine Condition? What would become of the States of *Holland*, when the *French* were so near Neighbours to them? I know some have suggested, as if there was Danger lest that Nation under a Prospect of Difficulties, should put her self under the Protection of *France*, and so have the Felicity to be the last devoured; but, tho' I have quite another Opinion of them, and that they are so zealous for the Religion and Liberties of their Country, as to dispute every Inch of Ground with the Enemy, yet I cannot possibly see, under such Circumstances, but they must at last sink, for any Assistance their Neighbours could give them: The Consequence of this to the Empire is also as obvious as dangerous.

Then for *England*; the very Thought that the *French*, who are already so potent at Sea, should become Masters of so much Shipping, and have so many Ports on the opposite Shoar, is enough to stun every honest Man's Heart. I think the Parliament, in the Time of the late War, address'd the King about securing *Neuport* and *Ostend*, lest they should be surpriz'd by the Enemy, so apprehensive they were of Danger, even to *England* it self, if the *French* were once become Masters of them; but if to these two Ports all the rest, both of the *Spanish* and *United Netherlands* be added, what shall we say? To be allow'd to put our selves under the Protection of *France*, we may take as a great Favour.

I'll say nothing here of *Jamaica*; I am sure great Care ought to be taken for its Security in this Conjunction; since in case of a Rupture with the Two Crowns, it will stand us in so much stead to annoy them: But for *Portugal*, I'll be a little more particular, because it seems to be in more Danger than any other Country. We are told, indeed, that the *Portuguese* Embassador in *France* has acknowledg'd the Duke of *Anjou* for King of *Spain*; and we are told another Story from *Madrid* in more confident Terms, That the Embassador of that Crown there complaining they quarter'd the *Portuguese* Arms in those of *Spain*; he was answer'd, That tho' the late King did

did it not, yet it was done by *Phillip IV.* and there could be no just Exception taken against it : Now if this be true, 'tis directly reviving the *Spanish* Claim to that Kingdom ; which, for the clearer View of the Matter shall be briefly stated in this place.

After the Death of *Don Sebastian*, the Son of *Emanuel*, King of *Portugal*, who was slain in *Barbary* by the *Moors*, there was a Court of Claims erected by *Henry* (a Cardinal) who was crown'd King after his great Nephew *Sebastian*, to hear and determine the Allegations of the several Competitors, which were a great many, but we shall only take Notice of Three of them : 1. *Phillip II.* King of *Spain*, who was the Son of *Isabel*, eldest Daughter to *Emanuel*, King of *Portugal* ; 2. *Mary*, Dutcheß of *Parma*, eldest Daughter of *Edward*, youngest Son of *Emanuel*. 3. *Katherine*, Dutcheß of *Braganza*, youngest Daughter to the said *Edward*. Its plain here, that *Parma* had the Prior Right, *Braganza* next, and *Phillip* last : But for all this, much the same Plea may serve the Duke of *Anjou*, if back'd with his Grandfathers's Power, as did *Phillip II.* to gain the Crown of *Portugal*, which was in these Three Particulars :

*First*, That he being Grand-child to King *Emanuel* by his eldest Daughter, and the Dukes of *Parma* and *Braganza*, but great Grand-children to him by Daughters of a younger Son, who never lived to be King, he was one degree nearer to *Emanuel*, as also to the then present King *Henry*, than either of the other Two.

*2dly*, That when *John*, the base Son of *Don Pedro*, was crown'd King of *Portugal*, it was to the Injury of the King of *Castile*, the Right being in him, as having then marry'd *Beatrice*, the legitimate Daughter and Heir of *Ferdinand*, King of *Portugal*, legitimate Son of *Pedro*, whereas *John* was but the base Son of *Pedro*, and Bastard Brother to *Ferdinand*, Father to *Beatrice*.

*Thirdly*, Because *Portugal* was given away by a former King of *Castile*, in Marriage with one of his Daughters, contrary to the Law of the Land.

Now



Now, if to these Arguments they should add a Fourth (as their Reason for assuming the *Portuguese* Arms does imply) that that Crown had been in Possession of Three Kings of *Spain* successively for near Sixty Years together; that the Revolt in 1640, was, indeed, a Rebellion, which the *Spaniards* endeavour'd to suppress by a War of near 27 Years duration (the Peace being concluded about Two Years after *Phillip IV.* Death) and that 'twas only the Necessity of their then Affairs that made them desist the farther Prosecution of it; which they have Reason, Power and Opportunity now to re-assume with greater Vigour: What can the *Portuguese* say to this, since the Duke of *Parma* seems to have a Prior Right to the present Family; and who knows but a Renunciation of his Right purchased by a Sum of *French* Money, may be obtruded as a farther Argument to back the *Spanish* Pretensions?

The Case being thus then between the Crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*; the Latter ought not to be over fond, and precipitate the Acknowledging of the Duke of *Anjou* for King of *Spain*: But their first Business had been to sound the Dispositions of other Princes and States, and particularly *England* and *Holland*, who are best able to give them Assistance, because of the Greatness of their Naval Power; and to regulate their Conduct according to the others Example.

Indeed, formerly *France* was, and could be a great Support unto them; but as the Increase and Grandeur of their Monarchy has been the sole Aim of that People for many Years, the *Portuguese* have now more Reason to be afraid of that to their Cost than ever: And so in case of a War upon the Account of the *Spanish* Succession, they of all People ought to side with the contrary Party.

Now, supposing *Holland*, *Portugal*, the Empire, *England*, and consequently all *Europe*, tho' we confine our selves to these Parts, to be in Danger from such an unhappy Conjunction, must they all presently engage in a War against the Two Crowns? It does not at all follow, tho' certainly they ought to have a right Understanding between each other as soon as may be: I take his Imperial Majesty to be the Prince that is



more immediately concern'd and aggriev'd upon the Account of his Pretensions to the *Spanish* Succession; but whether he be able to do himself Justice alone, is much to be doubted: I acknowledge he has a great many brave Troops in his Service, that for the Space of Seventeen Years together have been used to Blood and Victory in *Hungary*, and those Parts, against the Infidels (with whom he is now at Peace) and so can draw most of them into the Field, perhaps, to the Number of 80000 Men: Its also very likely that the Treaty of Partition (when it appear'd in the World) put him upon making the best Alliances he could in the Empire and the North, to dispute his Right with those whom he thought gave it unjustly away from him; and more particularly he seems to have made the Elector of *Brandenburg*, the most potent Prince in all the Empire, of his side, by advancing him to the Dignity of King of *Prussia*: The Elector Palatine, perhaps, by Promises to get him discharged of the Claims of the Dutchess of *Orleans*, and other Things may come in; the House of *Hanover* for standing by the Dignity he had conferred upon him against the Princes that opposed it. The Interests of the *Landgrave* of *Hesse Cassel*, and the Circles of *Franconia* and *Swabia* seem upon this Occasion to be compatible with that of his Imperial Majesty: There seems to be a good Understanding between the King of *Poland* and Court of *Vienna*, and 'tis not improbable, if a Peace can be clapt up between him and the *Swedes*, but a good Body of his *Veterane* Troops will march into the Emperor's Service: Its not unlikely, but he may also either engage the *Danes* or *Swedes* in his Quarrel in time; but if they should both do it, its more than ever yet happen'd between those two Nations; and, 'tis remarkable, that when the Religion and Liberty of *Germany* lay at Stake in the Time of *Ferdinand II. Gustavus Adolphus* never came into the Field till King *Christian* of *Denmark* was beaten out of it, and forced to dishonourable Terms of Peace. The Disposition of the Bishop of *Munster* is uncertain, so is that of the Elector of *Cologne*; tho' if they do not both chuse rather to be Neuter, they are more likely to be engag'd in the Interests of his Imperial Majesty

jeſty than otherwiſe: But for the Elector of *Bavaria*, it will be a hard Matter for him to obtain a Neutrality for his Hereditary Dominions, ſince he has already given Suſpicion of his Conduct to the Emperor, in whoſe Interests he muſt either entirely and timouſly engage, or endanger the Loſs of his Dominions to him; which ſtand directly in his Way, and may eaſily be poſſeſſed by his Arms: He knows how his Anceſtor got the *Upper Palatinate* from the *Palſgrave Frederick*, the ſame Power that diſpoſſeſt the one, can do ſo by the other. As for the *Swiſs Cantons*, all that the Emperor can obtain of them, is a Paſſage for the March of his Troops thro' their Country into *Italy*: They have engag'd in no War for many Years, and 'tis not likely they will do ſo now; tho' they have been guilty of a moſt barbarous Cuſtom, of letting their Troops to hire to oppoſite Parties, whereby they have had the Chance of murdering one another without any direct Quarrel between them. If they would upon the Occaſion of a new War, but recall their Subjects out of the Service of *France*; tho, perhaps, there are not now 30000 of them in that Country; it would be a Weakning of the *French* King's Hands by near double the Number, ſo great a Difference there is between their Bravery and Firmneſs in Military Actions, and that of the Native *French*; and next to putting of them into his Imperial Maſteſty's Service, it would be the greateſt Kindneſs they could be capable of doing him. Laſtly, For the Republick of *Venice*, as they have almoſt at all times had the Addreſs to keep themſelves Neutral in all the Wars of *Italy*, between the *Spaniards*, *Savoyards*, *Mantuan*s, and other Princes, its very probable they'll endeavour to do the ſame now, and be rather for accommodating (if it be poſſible) all Differences, than blowing up the Coals, leſt the Flame ſhould catch their own Territories, and conſume them to Aſhes: The other *Italian* Princes and petty States muſt certainly trim with him that is uppermoſt, and the Pope himſelf, for all his Bulls and Mock-Sanctity, cannot avoid (as he does almoſt in every thing elſe) to play the Arch-hypocrite upon this Occaſion. I had almoſt forgot his Royal Highneſs of *Savoy*, who, tho' he very ungenerouſly

nerously deserted his Confederates in the late War, is the most of any to be pitied in this Conjunction, because of the unhappy Situation of his Country between such Powers, that to stand Neuter in all probability will not do; and to engage on either side, lays him open to the Insults of the other; and if he found it very difficult to resolve before which Party to espouse, the Circumstances of Things are such, that, I believe, he'll find it much more now, and, perhaps, with worse Consequences.

Now to sum up the Whole, and make a moderate Estimate of the Emperor's and his Allies Armies; suppose we should compute them at an 160000 effective Men, well furnish'd with all Necessaries, and paid by those in whose Service they are, without burthening others with it; I doubt this would come far short of the Power of *France* alone; and so consequently without more numerous Troops and potent Allies, it would be in vain for his Imperial Majesty to begin a War, from which he could not hope to come off with Advantage (which is the Thing propos'd) but certain Loss. *England* and *Holland* then are the Countries which his Imperial Majesty must fix his Eyes upon, and 'tis by their Assistance alone that he can expect to save his Honour and his Rights: But this is so tender a Point, that tho' he should make good every Title of bringing so many, nay, more Troops into the Field, and the exact Payment of them, whereof their Plenipotentiaries complain'd so much at the Treaty of *Reswyck*; saying, *That they alone had bore the Burthen of the War, by keeping of great Fleets and numerous Land Forces, which they had set out at their own Charge, for the common Good, and notwithstanding so many States and Princes of the Empire, had paid almost alone, the Expences of the War along the Rhine*: And besides other Advantages superadd to this, that he would grant a general Toleration of Religion to all Protestants however denominated, both in *Hungary* and his Hereditary Dominions, not *pro hoc vice* only, but give his Consent that the same should be confirm'd by the States of the respective Countries, and the Diet of *Ratisbonne*, so far as their Power does extend in that Matter,



Matter, by such authentick Acts and Records as might make it firm and stable, that so the Ground which the Protestant Religion has lost in *France*, may be retriev'd in *Germany*: There are some strenuous Reasons why they should refuse their Compliance; and the following Three in particular.

*First*, Both the Nations have been much exhausted by the late War, and have contracted a vast Debt, the greatest Part whereof is yet unpaid.

*Secondly*, To engage in another War, upon the present Foot of Things, we must quarrel with *Spain* as well as *France*, and consequently lose several Millions due to the Subjects of both Nations, to the Ruine of the Trading part of them.

*Thirdly*, We found a vast Interruption in our Navigation and Commerce during the late War; and must expect much more now, since we cannot at all trade to *Spain*, which is one of the best they have, most of the Return being in Silver: And that to *Turkey*, which is vastly beneficial and great to the *English* especially, must, if not totally lost, be so interrupted, and attended with such a Charge, as to become worth little or nothing; that to both the *Indies* also must considerably flag, we can have no Refreshment at the *Canaries*, and other Places: And, in short, it must be a considerable Detriment to both Nations in their Traffick, by which they have so long subsisted and flourished, and without which they must sink into the most abject State of Pity and Contempt.

It will be no very difficult Matter for a Man of Parts to pretend to answer them presently, by alledging, the War was not to be on the same Foot as before; that our Part and the *Dutch* will be chiefly to act at Sea, and so our Money kept at Home, which was so general a Complaint and Detriment to us, by carrying it out of the Nation, to pay our Land Troops in the late War: That there are good Funds for the Debts that are due; that the War must necessarily be of no long Duration; that for the Debts due from *Spain*, we can make Reprizals upon the *Spaniards* when we please, take the *Havana*, and superabundantly compensate our Loss of the Money, *Spanish* and *Turkey* Trades out of the Mines of *Potosi*, &c. But  
since.

since all this, and ten times more will not answer the solid Reasons before-mention'd against a War, without *England* and *Holland* does foresee an invincible Necessity of venturing the Whole to save their own and *Europe's* Liberty. Its proper we should now inspect into the Terms upon which *Europe* may be supposed to be safe, and wherein there is any Hopes of an amicable Composure of all Differences, which is the principal Aim of this Treatise; but we must premise a few Things before we go any farther.

*First*, That the Will of the King of *Spain*, being made a full Month, excepting one Day, before he died, must be supposed to be real, and the Dictates of his own Mind; and, indeed, I always thought (long before he died) the Subjects would have a great Regard to it, in whose favour so ever it were made.

*Secondly*, It would look very odd, that a young Prince, in pursuance to the said Will, should be joyfully and peaceably vested in the Crown, and yet at last be dispossess'd of the Whole.

*Thirdly*, As there was a Prior Right in the *Dauphin* and Duke of *Burgundy*, if they had any to the Crown of *Spain*, before the Duke of *Anjou*; which, contrary to the Treaty of Partition, was conceded to the Duke by Virtue of the Will; so there is the same Priority in the Emperor, King of the *Romans*, and his Infant Son, before Arch-duke *Charles*; and yet supposing the deceas'd Catholick King had made the Arch-duke his Universal Heir, would not the Emperor have done the same in respect to himself, eldest Son and Grandson, as the *French* King has done in respect to his Son and eldest Grandson; Where is then the Pretensions of Succession in either, and the Difference between them? Only that the one was tied up by a Treaty to act otherwise than he did, while the other had no such Bar nor Temptation laid before him.

*Lastly*, As *France*, *England* and *Holland* have taken the Liberty, without the Emperor's Concurrence to enter into a Treaty of Partition of the *Spanish* Monarchy; and that *France*,

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contrary to the said Treaty and Concurrence of *England* and *Holland*, has thought fit to violate the same, by its Acceptance of the King of *Spain*'s Will, in opposition to it : Has not his Imperial Majesty as much Reason on his side, who<sup>r</sup> was before left out, as well as *England* and *Holland*, who have been now so much slighted, to enter, with all the other Allies they can make, into a new Treaty of Partition, to oblige *France* to Terms within a certain Time limited therein ; and, in case of absolute Refusal, to take such Measures as may tend to the Preservation of the Liberties of *Europe*, which every Man then must necessarily conclude to be in imminent Danger, and that *France* by such Rejection has tacitly declared so much : But now to the Project it self.

Suppose then it should be concluded and agreed on between the aforesaid Powers, in order to the more entire cementing of them together, that, besides the Liberty already mention'd to be allow'd of Religion in the Hereditary Countries, &c. the Fourth Article of the Treaty of *Reswijk* should be made void, wherein the Imperial and *French* Plenipotentiaries combined to debar the Protestants of their ancient Liberty, contrary to the 28th Article of the Treaty of *Westphalia*, which runs thus ; ' That those of the Confession of *Ausburg*, and particularly the ' Inhabitants of *Oppenheim*, shall be put in Possession again of their ' Churches and Ecclesiasticks Estate, as they were in the Year ' 1624: As also, That all others of the Confession of *Ausburg*, ' who shall demand it, shall have the free Exercise of their Religion as well in publick Churches at the appointed Hours, as ' in private in their own Houses, or in others chosen for that purpose by their Ministers, or by those of their Neighbours preaching the Word of God.

This, I am sure, is a Point of Justice due to the Protestants of the *Palatinate*, &c. as I humbly conceive, a Surrendry of the Dutchy of *Milan* in *Italy* to his Imperial Majesty, as 'tis a Fief of the Empire, is no less so, the Nature of a Fief in this case being in a Word thus : That as a Sovereign Prince has conferred a Country in Sovereignty upon any Person and his Heirs, upon the Account of defending it against a Foreign Enemy, or the like,



like, so the same for want of Heirs reverts to the prime Donor or his Successors. Now that *Milan* is such in respect to the Empire of *Germany*, it will be convenient to give a short History of it. To pass by the State of it under the *Romans*; after *Attila*, King of the *Huns*, had taken this City and spoil'd both it and the Country, the *Lombards* were the next that became Masters of it, who held the same till about 774, under a Succession of 23 Princes, only 'twas said, *Aribert*, their Seventeenth King, gave the Dutchy of *Milan* to the Church of *Rome*, but his Successors, not agreeing with the Pope *Adrian*, procured *Charles* the Great to destroy this Kingdom, under which Family, and more especially the Emperors of *Germany*, it continued till 1161, when taking part with Pope *Alexander III.* against *Frederick Barbarossa*, it was raz'd to the Ground; but ousting the Emperors about 1221, it became a Republick, and continued so till about 1277, when it fell under *Otho*, by the Title of *Visconti*, (but still as subject to the Emperors of *Germany*) and *John Galeazo*, the Eighth of these, was made a Duke by the Emperor *Wenceslaus I.* in 1395. It continued under Dukes till *Lewis XII.* of *France*, who conquered it in 1501, and by this means an usurping Duke got it; but *Maximilian* won it from the *French* in 1513, whose Brother *Francis Sforza* succeeded him; but he dying in 1535, the Emperor *Charles V.* after he had for a long time amused *Francis I.* of *France* (who had before relinquish'd all his Pretensions for his Liberty after the Battle of *Pavia*) with the Hopes of installing one of his Sons in the Dutchy, took care that the Investiture should be made in Favour of his Son *Philip II.* to be held in Fee of the Emperor as well as the Town of *Final*. Now *Charles II.* the late deceased King of *Spain*, and direct Heir from the said *Phillip*, dying without Issue to inherit: This Town and Dutchy by Right of Devolution must come to his Imperial Majesty.

*France* has no Reason to dispute this Article, since no Part of the Dutchy of *Milan* touches now any of her Territories, and that there is nothing hereby pretended to be taken from her, unless she secretly aims at any Part or the Whole of the

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*Spanish* Dominions, and more than she is yet willing to own; but for this we must watch her Water.

Indeed, *Spain* will be somewhat of a Loser, since their Catholick Majesties were wont Yearly to draw from thence the Sum of 3000000 Livres, besides a Million which the Inhabitants were used to pay, during the Time of War, without reckoning the Governour's Revenue, and that which he extorted otherwise, which amounted to little less. But if the Duke of *Anjou* and his grave *Dons* come to consider, that for want of this Concession in Conformity to the Rights of the Emperor, the Whole may be disputed with him, and himself, perhaps, Unking'd, whereof that will not be the first Example, they'll find Reason to acquiesce with it.

*Milan* is so disjoin'd from the Empire of *Germany*, that the Princes and States which do compose it, can have no just Reason to fear the Endangering of their Liberties by this Accession of Dominion to the House of *Austria*; but 'tis convenient for that Reason no other or more Territories should be assign'd the Emperor out of the *Spanish* Dominions, since the Imperial Dignity seems now by Prescription to be establish'd in his Family.

The Duke of *Savoy* by this Distribution will be in no worse Condition now than his Country has for a long time been more or less between the two racking Powers of *France* and *Spain*, ever since *Milan* came in the Possession of the Latter; nay, he'll have this Advantage, that as the Power of *Spain* for many Years has been on the Decline, and that most of his Difficulties have arisen from the Encroachments of *France*, that he'll have one now of more Power to assist him, in case of the like Pressures: Be it as it will, tho' he may be always uneasy, there will be such mutual Jealousies between his Neighbours on each side of him, that tho' any one of them would be glad of an Opportunity to devour him, yet the other's Vigilance will never allow of it.

I confess I cannot see how the Peace of *Italy* can be long preserv'd: It was a wise Precaution of the Great Father *Paul* to his Countrymen the *Venetians*, That they ought to be Jealous



lous of the Emperor above any other Prince, since his Pretensions had no Bounds, but, if Occasion served, he might mount them up even as high as the ancient *Cæsars*, and I can see nothing but the Prudence of that noble Senate that can maintain the Liberty and Tranquility of that Country, though, perhaps, alternatively only, sometimes by Peace, and other Whiles War. But let the worst fall out that can, a War here will be but like Thunder afar off, and, perhaps, divert it from our Parts of *Europe*, and but little affect the Protestant Religion, and Interest: This will be a Means to keep the Court of *Rome's* Thoughts imploy'd about its own Security, and not put that Artifice in Practice of debauching Princes to its Religion and Principles, as they did some Years since by *John Frederick*, Duke of *Hanover*, and more laterly by Duke *Ferdinand* of *Courland*, Prince, of *Hesse Darmstad*, Elector of *Saxony*, &c. to the Danger and Detriment of our Religion; nay, 'twill be at most but *Philistine* fighting against *Philistine*, and the Sons of *Anac* destroying one another, to make Way, perhaps, for a strange Mutation: We are satisfied the Reformation was begun at first, both in *England* and *Germany*, more out of a private Disgust and particular Humour, than any real Principles of Conscience; and who knows what the Emperor's Pretensions in this Case and the Stifness of the Papacy to oppose them may effect towards pulling down that Apostate Church, that hath so long reign'd over the Kings of the Earth, and held the Souls of Men in Darkness, and worse than *Egyptian* Bondage.

I acknowledge the *Swiss* Cantons cannot be very easie upon such a Conjunction, since they must be continually incommoded with the March of *German* Troops through their Country; but, as I do not doubt but they will have Wit enough to make their Advantage of it, so they must be very circumspect, as well as suspicious, of the *Austrian* Greatness, since 'tis not Four Centuries ago that they were part of the *German* Empire, from which they revolted in the Reign of the Emperor *Albert* of *Austria*, and could never since be reduced by his Successors, but have continued a free and independent State to this Day.

I had in a manner forgot the Kingdom of *Portugal*, which, I suppose, all this While, if she has any Regard to her true Interest, to make Part of the Confederacy, and as such must necessarily concur to the bringing of the Power of *Spain* low, which has so much Pretension upon it, and by and through which, its Ruin, if not timely prevented, must be supposed to proceed.

That which has been said concerning the Cession of the Dutchy of *Milan* to his Imperial Majesty, being chiefly founded upon a Principle of Right, we are next to consider that of Conveniency: The Archduke *Charles* now for some Years has been buoy'd up with the Hopes of being Universal Heir and Successor to the Catholick King deceased, and even by the Treaty of Partition has been tantaliz'd with the Imagination of being King at least of the greatest Part of the *Spanish* Dominions: But after all, to come poorly off with nothing is very hard, and therefore, as 'tis not convenient the Imperial Dignity should grow too great, though the Original Right of Succession to the Dominions of *Spain* appears to be first in the Person of the Emperor himself, it may be worth Consideration, whether it would not be proper the Archduke should not be made Sovereign Prince of the *Spanish Netherlands* to be held in Succession by his Heirs Male for ever, and independent of any other Power whatsoever, the Emperor and the Empire at the same time renouncing all manner of Pretensions to *Alost* and the County of *Waes* as a Fief of the Empire: But out of this *Neupont* and *Ostend* with some small Territory about them is exempted, of which more by and by. But at the same time it would be necessary also to grant Toleration of Religion to all those who would dissent from the *Romish* Communion.

Now the general Reason to be given for this Distribution, is the Security, first, of the *United Provinces*, and next, of *Great Britain* it self against the Encroachments of an overgrown Neighbour, from whom, to say, there is in this Conjunction no Grounds of Danger, is no other than to shut your Eyes against the bright Beams of the Sun, and then to say, it



does not shine: *Salus populi est suprema Lex*; and surely 'tis high Time to provide for it.

The *French* King, if he be real in his Intention of continuing the Peace, and making no Innovation in respect to the Exchange of Territories, or the like, upon this Revolution in *Spain*, has no just Reason to except against this Proposition, since his own Copy-hold is not touched by it, and that he can be in no Danger from so small a Neighbour as the Prince of the *Spanish Netherlands* must be in respect to his mighty Power.

The *Spaniards* must needs urge many Reasons against this Alienation arising from private Interests; chiefly in respect to the rich Government here, and other beneficial Employments they shall lose, with a great deal more to the same Purpose; but the most material Objections seem only to be these Two.

*Object. 1.* That such an Alienation is both contrary to the solemn and express Words of the late King's Will and the Law of the Land also, as appears by the 50th Article, which runs in these Words: 'His Majesty ordains and decrees, that according to the Laws of the Monarchy, neither the King, his Successor, nor they that come after him, shall have Power to alienate any Part of his Kingdoms and Dominions, nor to divide or dismember them upon any Account whatsoever, nor so much as to assign them for Childrens Portions; but on the contrary, as well the Kingdoms which are now annex'd to the Crown, and those which may fall to it hereafter, shall remain for ever united and inseparable: His Majesty to that end confirming the Law made at the Sitting of the States of *Valladolid* in 1442. by King *John II.* and afterwards approved by King *Ferdinand* and Queen *Isabel*, *Charles V.* and the Kings *Philip II.* *Philip III.* and *Philip IV.*

In Answer to this, I say, first, That to me the only Reason of this Clause in the Will seems to proceed from, and be made in Opposition to the Treaty of *Partition*, whereby the *Spanish* Monarchy was dismembred. For, Secondly, Did not *Philip II.* in the Year 1598. make a Donation of the Principality  
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of the *Low Countries* and of the *Franch Comte* to the *Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia*, in Consideration of a Marriage she was to contract with Arch-duke *Albert* her first Cousin? Was not this Donation confirm'd by his Son and Successor *Philip III.* but upon this Condition, that all those Provinces should return again to the Crown of *Spain*, if *Isabel* died without Issue? And did not the *Infanta* with the Arch-duke enjoy them in Sovereignty as long as they lived, and nothing morally speaking, but want of Children must make them revert to *Spain* again, as they did upon the Death of the *Infanta* in 1633, after a Disjunction of about 35 Years from that Crown? Its true, the States of *Brabant* did then make some Exceptions against the Donation, but they were all answer'd, and the Conditions concluded.

*Object. 2.* That if *Flanders* had been of no other Benefit to them, yet they found those rich Provinces highly advantageous in this; that they always kept the *French* Arms in play, and diverted them from *Spain* it self, which otherwise must have expected to have felt the Smart of them: If they have been so in times past, why not so for the future? since they cannot flatter themselves the Peace between the two Crowns will be perpetual.

I do not think, indeed, the Union between them will or can be perpetual, unless they suffer themselves to become a Province of *France*: Why then are they now so fond of a *French* Prince, and seem so far to slight the House of *Austria*, and their other old Allies, that nothing but the Dictates and Responses of the *French* old Oracle will go down with them? But allowing still the Disunion of the Crowns to continue, they know very well that *Flanders* instead of bringing in a great Income, has been always a vast Charge to them, and yet they in a manner perpetually lost Ground there: Suppose then upon the Resignation of this Country to the Arch-duke, they should annually expend the Money laid out for the Security and Defence of *Flanders*, upon fortifying their own *Spanish* Frontier, towards *France*, which is naturally strengthened by the *Pyrenae*s, would not this do as well for them, and at the same time keep



keep their Money at home ; whereas, besides what Bills or Remittances in Specie they have from time to time transmitted to the *Low Countries*, they could never keep themselves out of Debt, but that there are now vast Sums due to the States-General ; and I am told, not a small one to the Elector of *Bavaria*, besides other Incumbrances.

This, perhaps, and a thousand Arguments more cannot persuade either *France* or *Spain* to give way to this Cession, till fatal Necessity wrests it out of their Hands : But as all honest Nations ought to make it Conscience, and a Point of Honour to pay their just Debts ; this will be one Way for the *Spaniards* to make themselves easie in respect to their Engagements to the *Dutch* upon that foot, for whose Security chiefly this Cession must be intended, who, no doubt, upon this Consideration, the *Spaniards* relinquishing all Right to *Maeſtricht* (which was to be restored them upon their coming into the Assistance of the States in the War of 1672) and the Arch-duke's making them some Concessions, in respect to the Conveniency of Limits, may be brought to cancel all Accounts with them. Besides, it will be a generous Testimony of the Sincerity, both of *France* and *Spain*, to preserve the Peace of *Europe*, which cannot possibly be establish'd upon any firm Basis, without some Act or other of this kind. For 'tis not all the Protestations the *French* King can make will do it ; neither will the Duke of *Anjou*, when he has taken the Government of *Spain* upon him, which he will undoubtedly do as soon as he arrives at *Madrid*, and takes the usual Oath of the contrary, he being now considerably above the Age of the Majority of Kings, which in *Spain*, as well as all over *Europe*, is Fourteen, whatever some Persons have unwittingly alledged to the Country, I say, neither will *Anjou's* offering (as I am apt to believe he will) to renew the ancient Alliances between *Spain*, *England*, *Holland* and their other Allies do it : It's something more substantial that must do, and nothing, in my poor Opinion, but something of this Nature can be safely accepted.

I cannot see any Inconveniencies that the *Spanish Netherlands* should be erected into a Sovereign Principality, but quite the  
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contrary almost to every Body: It will certainly be much better for the People to be govern'd by a Prince of their own, who must necessarily better provide for their Security and Liberty than mercenary indigent Governours, whose constant Practice has been, miserably to fleece them by intolerable Exactions, vastly to enrich themselves during their Triennial Regency: They must more flourish in Trade; their Frontiers and Garrisons be better provided and secured, and their Troops more numerous, upon a better Foot, and not suffered, as the *Spaniards* have done all along, till the Elector of *Bavaria* came to be Governour, to live upon the Spoils of the People.

It cannot be any Inconveniency to *France*, since 'tis likely so small a Prince will never pretend to provoke one that is so much his overmatch; and wherein, if that would do, he cannot expect to be back'd by the Power of the States-General, whose Delight is Trade, Maxims Peace, and never to engage in a War, but when their Religion and Liberties lie at stake.

As for *Holland* a better Barrier than this they cannot expect, and they'll be sure, in case *France* pretends to invade them, to find a fast Friend of the Prince of *Flanders*, and better Assistance than ever the *Spaniards* could pretend to give them since the Peace of *Munster*.

As *England* is more remotely in Danger, by this means she will be more fully secured, and both it and *Holland* at less Charge for the future to defend the Frontiers of the *Netherlands*, in case they be attack'd by *France*, especially since the elder Branch of the House of *Austria*, in *Germany*, will ever think it their Duty and Interest to protect and assist the younger one in the *Low Countries*, with more Zeal and Application, than ever they did *Spain* the elder House of all, now extinct.

But as neither his Imperial Majesty, nor the Arch-duke can ever pretend in Conjunction even with *Holland*, and all the other Allies they are like to make, without *England*, either by a War or Treaty, to bring such a Project to effect, it will be reasonable besides the full Restitution of our Woollen Manufacture, and some other antecedent Concessions made to us, in  
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respect to our Trade into the *Netherlands*, we should have something more assign'd us. We got nothing by the late War for all the Expence of Blood and Treasure we were at, but a Peace: We were to get nothing, that I know off, by the Treaty of Partition, but a Prospect of the Continuance of it: Its fit therefore we should have something now: But here I must stop and first premise; that with all due and humble Deference to His Majesty's Will and Authority (under whose Reign I would prefer to live before any of the most glorious of his Predecessors) what I am going to say, proceeds from no other Motive than the real Affection I have for the Safety, Glory and Prosperity of my Native Country: Its well known His Majesty, besides the Principality of *Orange*, has other Lands and Seignories in the *French Comte*, and elsewhere, within the Dominions of *France*, and that all these upon any Rupture with the States, and sometimes without it, have been seized by the Authority of the *French King*; and the same must be expected for the future, at least whenever a War happens: Suppose then, upon such a general Settlement of the Affairs of *Europe*, as we must imagine may ensue, in case Matters be amicably compos'd without a War; the fore-mention'd Principality and other His Majesty's Lands in *France*, were surrendred up in Sovereignty to the *French King*, for which he should be obliged to give his Grandson the Duke of *Anjou* a full Æquivalent in *Roussillon*, or any other Part of the Dominions of *France*, bordering upon *Spain*, as shall be most convenient and best agreed on: And for Satisfaction to the King of *England*, besides the Marquisate of *Bergen Op-Zoom* to be held by him in the same Manner as 'tis at present, under the Jurisdiction of the States by the Count d'*Auvergne*, for which the *French King* should make the Count Satisfaction out of our King's Lands in *France*, the Towns of *Neuport* and *Ostend*, with the Village of *Oudenborgh*, and some adjacent Territories bounded within a certain Pale to be agreed on, as 'twas anciently with *Calais* when in the Hands of the *English*, should be dignify'd with the Title of the Principality of *Orange*, and be given him and his Heirs for ever, and the same for want of Issue to be

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perpetually annex'd to the Crown of *England*: His Majesty's Concessions herein, as they would remain an eternal Monument of his Affection to the *English* Nation; so I make no manner of doubt, if the Revenues of them fell short of his Estate in *France*; but the People of *England* have Ability and Gratitude enough to make it more than up unto him.

There is no occasion to expatiate upon the Advantages that would accrue to us by these Ports; the great Damages (to say no more) we sustain'd in the late War in our Trade to the North and otherwise, from the single Port of *Dunkirk* is a sufficient Demonstration of it: And since I have mention'd that Place, I cannot but with Indignation think of the Sale of it to the *French*. Our Historians tell us, that *Mary I.* Queen of *England*, resented the Loss of *Calais* to that degree, that it cost her her Life, saying, when the Key of her Bed-Chamber was brought to her, according to Custom, It was not the Key of *Calais*, and that if she were open'd after her Death, they should find that Town at her Heart: But here was a Place of vast Consideration and Import, and won by the Blood and Valour of a Body of brave *English* Men, under the most consummate (tho' illiterate) General of his time, parted with for a Trifle to a Prince, who knew well how to improve it, and of whose Power, especially at Sea, we ought to have been the most Jealous of any People in the World; tho', I hope, God has forgiven the Crime, yet, I believe, it will hardly ever be forgotten by any true *English* Man, but will remain a perpetual Mark of Ignominy upon that Prince's Reign, and the Memory of those (whoever they were) that advised him to it.

The *French* King, one might imagine, should think himself rather benefited than injured by this Exchange; since he must now have his Dominions more entire, and all that is within his Limits his own: But if he should be scrupulous to allow the Duke of *Anjou* a just Æquivalent on the Coast of *Spain*, shall we believe him to be sincere, in saying he sacrificed his own Interest to his Grandson, by rejecting the Partition, and not to have more Reason than ever to suspect it. And then for the *Spaniards* and the Kingdom of *Spain* it self, besides their being



quitted of the great Debts due to *Holland* as aforesaid, upon account of their Renunciation of *Flanders*, this *Æquivalent* from *France* will be some farther Compensation to them.

It would be farther necessary to make some Provision for the Security of our Trade to *Spain* and the *Levant*, and that the *French* may not make use of this Conjuncture, to prejudice us in either of them; but the Methods to effect it, is left entirely to the Wisdom of the Great Council of the Nation, into which there are so many Members chosen at this time, that understand the speculative and practical Part of Trade; that 'tis hoped, and wish'd for, that laying aside all Animosities and private Interests, they will seriously apply themselves to provide for this and the other most arduous Affairs that will lie before them. It was the Character given our Country by a *Venetian* Embassador, at his taking Leave of old Sir *Henry Vane*, when Secretary of State, 'That *England* was happy in their King, Country, Nobility and Gentry, and would be perfectly happy had they had Publick Spirits; but of that, he said, they had the least of any People he had ever the Honour to know. I know not how it was then, and whether the Republican had just Reason for what he said: But, I am sure, if it be so now, there is nothing but the Providence of God alone that can prevent our Ruine.

But supposing after all such like Offers or Terms made to *France* upon this Occasion, the same should be utterly rejected, with the *French* King's saying, he was resolv'd inviolably to preserve the Peace of *Europe*; Shall we rest satisfy'd with this, and take no farther Notice? I dread the Effects of it, lest we should come to cry out, when 'tis too late, *Causa tanta Calamitatis nimia securitas*. It was a true Observation of the Great Lord *Hollis*, in his excellent Letter to Mons. *Van Benninghem*, in 1676, That we had then fallen under the Administration of Three weak Princes together (we can since very justly add a Fourth) and that had it not been for the Interposition of the Parliament's Government between, we had sunk long before that time; for we had not made one true Step, nor struck one true Stroak since the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*: Neither is it less true, that  
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had it not been for the Coming in of His present Majesty, both our own and the Liberties of *Europe* too must in all probability have sunk under the Weight of the *French* Greatness before now: *Lastly*, As we find by Experience, that for one brave and good King we have three or four bad ones: Have we not the greatest Reason imaginable to look about us, and secure our All during King *William's* Life, when, reasonably speaking, we can never expect to have such another Conjunction or Opportunity for it. We have Reason to believe the War in the North was begun out of no good Will to the Protestant Religion; and, indeed, next under God, we are beholding to His Majesty's great Wisdom and Interest in stifling it in the very Bud: And we are also told of another League proposed to his Imperial Majesty by a false Neighbour, for the Restitution of another Prince to his Throne, as a Consequence, and upon a Presumption of the Success of the Northern Design against the *Hereticks*: How true these Things are, I will not pretend to determine; but as there is no Smoak (we say) but there is some Fire, we have Cause to be more jealous than ever, especially upon such a Conjunction, when there is like to be so close an Union between *France* and *Spain*; and to ward off the Danger by all the wise Precautions imaginable, but whether by Peace, War or Treaties and Partitions, is (after all that has been said) left wholly to those whose proper Business it is; and whose Councils, I pray God, to bless with all the good Effect we can wish for.

Peace in its own Nature is most eligible of any, next to it Treaties and Partitions in order to the Preservation of it; War is ungrateful and destructive, and ought never to be entred into but with an Intent to have a good Peace secured to us. But supposing for once a War should be made choice of, I humbly presume the Province of the *English* will be principally to act by Sea, in Conjunction with a *Dutch* Squadron, as in the late War, but it will be worth Consideration, whether both the Fleets ought not to act separately. The *Dutch* complain'd then of an Hardship put upon them, to be govern'd by the Directions of our Lords of the Admiralty; and pretended they would have done more than both the Fleets, if they had been left to their own Methods and Management: The Truth of it is, they have a good Way of giving necessary Orders at Sea, for the States sending two of their Deputies to Sea with their Admiral; these who must have a better View of Things, and how Advantages are to be taken, than those at Land, have full Power to act as they think most convenient, while our Admirals are so strictly tied to Orders from above, that little Good can be expected from 'em.

But, tho' our main Strength ought to be exerted at Sea, we cannot be without more Land Troops than are upon the present Establishment. I confess, I am as little in Love with standing Armies as any Body;  
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nay, I could be content to be without Guards too, were there not an absolute Necessity for it: I think, *Henry VII.* was the first King of *England* that instituted any, and they were those we call Yeomen of the Guard; but as we hardly read that any of his Predecessors in Possession of the Crown were ever assassinated, we have had so many Examples since of villanous Attempts to destroy the Persons of the best of our Protestant Princes, that we can never be too careful of their Security. Upon a Presumption therefore of a War, and the Increase of our Land Forces thereupon; a Question will arise, Whether we had best raise Natives, or hire Foreigners: There are great many Reasons why the latter should be preferred; but, I think, much more to be said for the former, tho' we shall only mention 2 or 3 Particulars, and so conclude.

*First*, Tho' the *English* become Soldiers as soon if not sooner than any other Nation, I mean dexterously to handle Arms and perform their Exercise, yet they generally living in greater Plenty, and being exposed to less Hardships than other People, they require a longer time to make them fit for the Fatigues of a Camp, and so consequently ought to be much inured to it. We had sufficient Experience of this in the Beginning of the late War, when our Fresh-water Soldiers died away so fast at *Dundalk* Camp, and elsewhere, whereas we found the Foreign Troops, kept up much better, and came off comparatively but with a small Loss.

*Secondly*, It would be an unreasonable thing to let Foreigners, both Officers and Soldiers live, nay, and some of them grow rich upon our Pay, while our own People, whereof a great many of them have done signal Services in the late War, must sit at Home and starve.

*Thirdly*, The *Premium* that is frequently given for Foreign Troops, and the Charge of recruiting them, might with better Advantage be expended at home in raising and recruiting Natives, who if they save any thing of their Pay naturally, upon the End of a War, return home to spend it, while Foreigners do the same in respect to theirs with our Money, and to our Loss and Detriment.

There are a great many other Things that might be suggested upon this Head, as that Natives will be more faithful and zealous in the Service, more subject to the Commands of their Generals, make the Nation more illustrious and formidable, with the Advantages of Military Skill and Glory, &c. but there is no occasion for it; and therefore I conclude with my hearty Wishes for a better Union and righter Understanding than ever (if possible) between His Majesty and his Parliament in this unhappy Conjunction (the Eyes of *Europe* being all fixed upon them) and that whatever I have said in reference to the State of the Controversies on foot, and the Methods of composing them may be entertain'd with the same innocent and disinterested Mind wherewith I have writ it.



